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THE DUTY OF THE SCHOLAR IN POLITICS,

PHI BETA KAPPA ADDRESS.

DELIVERED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS.

JUNE 8, 1896.

BY

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REPRINTED FROM THE KANSAS UNIVERSITY QUARTERLY
BY KANSAS ALPHA OF PHI BETA KAPPA

JOURNAL PRESS,
LAWRENCE, KANSAS,
1896



The Duty of the Scholar in Politics.

BY FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER.

[Phi Beta Kappa Address, delivered at the University of Kansas, June 8, 1896.]

The duty of the scholar in politics has been the subject of so many addresses upon occasions of this character that it is difficult to say anything new respecting it. It is, however, suggested both by the occasion and by the direction of my own studies. Mr. Disraeli is reported to have once replied to an opponent in Parliament: "The honorable gentleman has said things both true and new but the things true are not new and the things new are not true." It is, after all, the things true which are not new that are important. Especially is this the case with respect to duty, whatever its direction. It rarely happens that we do not know our duty but often that, knowing it, we fail in the doing.

By the scholar, in this connection, I do not mean the specialist but rather the man of education and independence, the man who is well informed upon all important topics of current interest and who does his own thinking respecting them. This definition does not include all graduates of colleges and universities and it does include many who never had the advantage of college training. The duty in politics of the man of education and independence is then the subject. The greater the education, the greater the influence he may exert and the greater the obligation to exert it. Especially great is the obligation in the case of the young men and young women educated at the expense of the state. Upon them rests the duty of using their influence for its welfare.

But I do not intend to range at large over the whole subject. I propose instead to emphasize one particular duty—namely the duty of the scholar to use his influence for the maintenance of international peace. The discussion of this particular duty is especially appropriate to the occasion by reason of the fact that it is totally disconnected from all questions of party politics. It is a duty pre-eminently of the scholar as a man governed by reason.

rather than by passion and prejudice. Recent events seem to present certain dangers to our national peace, which I shall consider in order. They are:

- 1st, misconception of the Monroe doctrine;
- 2d, a rising war spirit among the people; and
- 3d, enormous expenditures for war purposes.

First, the Monroe doctrine. I venture the assertion that the recent unwarranted construction of that doctrine is contrary to the teaching of the founders of the republic, a perversion of the true meaning of the original declaration, an encroachment upon the rights of foreign states and a menace to our peace and safety.

It is contrary to the teaching of the founders which was non-interference with the affairs of foreign nations and peace and friendship with all mankind. Three men may be called pre-eminently the founders of the republic. They were Washington, Madison and Hamilton, to whom more than to any others were due respectively the success of the revolution, the framing of the constitution and the establishment of government. The combined wisdom of these men was embodied in the farewell address issued by Washington upon his retirement from the presidency, a worthy guide to the American people for all time. In that address we find this advice:*

“Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. It will be worthy of a free, enlightened and, at no distant period, great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment that ennobles human nature.”

“The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is to have with them as little political connection as possible. Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit one's own to stand on foreign ground? Why entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?”

*See “Statesman's Manual” for quotations from Presidential messages and addresses. Richardson's “Messages and Papers of the Presidents,” now publishing by the Government, will supersede the earlier collection.

All parties at that time agreed in counseling peace.* Jefferson, the father of democracy, expressed the same sentiment. In an official letter in 1793, while Secretary of State, he said:

"We love and value peace; we know its blessings from experience. We abhor the follies of war and are not untried in its distresses and calamities. Not meddling with the affairs of other nations, we hope that our distance will leave us free in the example and indulgence of peace with the world."

Again in writing Monroe in 1823, advising the issue of this very declaration, he said:

"I have ever deemed it fundamental for the United States never to take an active part in the quarrels of Europe. Their political interests are entirely distinct from ours. Their mutual jealousies, their balance of power, their complicated alliances, their forces and principles of government are all foreign to us. They are nations of eternal war. All their energies are expended in the destruction of the labor, property and lives of their people. On our part never had a people so favorable a chance of trying the opposite system, of peace and fraternity with all mankind and a direction of all our means and faculties to the purposes of improvement instead of destruction."

And Monroe in the very message, now made the excuse for so much warlike demonstration, took pains to repeat this doctrine of non-intervention:

"In the wars of European powers, in matters relating to themselves we have never taken part nor does it comport with our policy to do so....With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere....Our policy with regard to Europe is not to interfere with the internal concerns of any of its powers."

Statements of this character were frequently repeated by later statesmen. Van Buren in official letters, while Secretary of State, within five years of the issue of the Monroe declaration, said:

"It is the ancient and well settled policy of this government not to interfere with the internal concerns of any foreign country."

"An invariable and strict neutrality and an entire abstinence from all interference with the concerns of other nations are cardinal traits of the foreign policy of this government. The obligatory character of this policy is regarded with a degree of reverence and submission but little if anything short of that which is entertained for the Constitution itself."

*See Wharton's "Digest of International Law," Vol. I, sects. 45 and 57, for opinions cited above.

Mr. Seward in 1863, at the very time he was protesting against the French occupation of Mexico, the only violation of the true Monroe doctrine ever attempted, wrote Mr. Adams:

“In regard to our foreign relations, the conviction has universally obtained that our true national policy is one of self reliance and self conduct in our domestic affairs, with *absolute non-interference* with those of other countries.”

Again in 1866 Mr. Seward* in advising against interference in behalf of Chili said:

“If there is any one characteristic of the United States which is more marked than any other, it is that they have from the time of Washington adhered to the principle of non-intervention and have perseveringly declined to seek or contract entangling alliances, *even with the most friendly states.*”

Quotations of this character might be multiplied indefinitely but enough have been given to prove that the teaching of the founders from Washington to Monroe and John Quincy Adams was non-intervention and peace. Their authority cannot rightfully be invoked in support of any other policy.

Recent construction of the Monroe doctrine is a perversion of the true meaning of the original declaration. I venture this assertion without fear of contradiction by any special student of international law or of our political history. The Monroe doctrine consists of two parts corresponding to the two causes which occasioned its issue. John Quincy Adams wrote the first part, Jefferson the second, and Monroe embodied both in his annual messages for 1823 and 24. Adams, Jefferson and Monroe may therefore properly be considered its joint authors.†

The first part respects colonization. America is not subject to future European colonization. In 1821 the Czar Alexander of Russia issued a proclamation claiming the western coast of North America as far south as the 51st parallel. That territory was then claimed both by Great Britain and the United States. The proclamation of the Czar was accepted by both as evidence of an intention to establish a Russian colony in America. It is difficult for us to-day to reproduce in imagination the situation of the United States at that time. Our territory then as now extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific but that portion between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi was still sparsely settled and the vast expanse between the Mississippi and the Pacific, with the exception of

“Works,” Vol. 5, pp. 444-5.

*It is well known that Madison was consulted and advised the issue of the declaration. He, however, merely seconded Jefferson's suggestions.

Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri, was absolutely unoccupied and almost unexplored. The territory of Mexico subsequently acquired by us was in the same condition. It would not then have been difficult for Russia to have planted a colony either in or near this territory, upon the plea that it was unoccupied. To guard against this danger President Monroe, acting upon the advice of Adams, issued this declaration:

“The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. . . . With their existing colonies or dependencies we have not interfered and shall not interfere.”

There was not the slightest intention of assuming a protectorate over other American states for the purpose of guarding their territory from European colonization. That such was the case is absolutely proved by the language used by Mr. Adams two years later in a special message to the Senate on the subject of a Congress of American states.

“An agreement,” he said, “between the parties represented at the meeting that each will guard, by its own means, against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders, may be found advisable. This was announced to the world, more than two years ago, by my predecessor, as a principle resulting from the emancipation of both the American continents.”

This statement Mr. Schouler* observes is remarkable as an exposition of the Monroe doctrine from the pen of the one most competent to make it, that is from the pen of the one who originally wrote it—in effect that European exclusion from this hemisphere was to be the work not of the United States, acting as the champion of the two Americas, but of each American republic as the protector of its own rights. Mr. Webster speaking at the same time expressed the same opinion.†

“It was highly desirable to us,” he said, “that new states should settle it as a part of their policy not to allow colonization within their respective territories. We did not need their aid to assist us in maintaining such a course for ourselves, but we had an interest in their assertion and support of the principle as applied to their own territories.”

The Russian claim was immediately abandoned in treaties with both Great Britain and the United States. Since that time there

*“History of the United States,” Vol. 3, p. 362.

†“Works,” Vol. 3, pp. 200-207.

has not been the faintest suggestion of an intention on the part of any European power to establish any new colony upon either of the American continents. The rapid growth of American populations has practically resulted in the actual occupation of every part of both continents. An occasion then for an application of this part of the Monroe doctrine has not presented itself and cannot present itself.

The second part of Monroe's declaration respects intervention. It consists of two distinct propositions. European interference with American states for the purpose of subverting their governments cannot be permitted and the extension to America of the European political system cannot be permitted. At the close of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 Russia, Austria and Prussia united in the so-called Holy Alliance. Their avowed object was the maintenance of the Christian religion. Their real purpose was the preservation of their political system of absolute monarchy, based upon the divine right of kings, by a pledge of mutual assistance in case of popular insurrection. The treaty between them was offered for signature to every power in Europe except the Sultan and the Pope. All acceded to it except Great Britain whose foreign minister replied that the principles of the Alliance were inconsistent with those of the British constitution. In 1821 the allies sent an Austrian army into Italy in order to prevent the adoption of a free constitution in Naples. And in 1823 they sent a French army into Spain to suppress popular insurrection there, and re-establish the despotism of Ferdinand VII. It was then proposed that the allies call a congress to arrange for the subjugation of Spain's revolted colonies in America and the re-establishment of Spanish authority over them. Information of this design reached the United States through Great Britain. In opposition to it Monroe, acting on the advice of Jefferson, issued the second part of his famous declaration:

"With the governments who have declared their independence we could not view any interposition by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different from that of America. We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. It is impossible that the allies should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness . . . It is equally impossible, therefore, that we

should behold such interposition in any form with indifference." In other words, European states could not be permitted to overthrow any American government for the purpose of establishing upon its ruins an absolute monarchy based upon the divine right of kings. There was not a word respecting intervention for any other purpose.

Monroe's warning was sufficient to induce the Holy Alliance to abandon their plan of interfering in American affairs. Since that time there has been but a single violation of this part of Monroe's declaration. During our civil war the unscrupulous government of Napoleon III invaded Mexico, overthrew her government and established in its place an Empire, sustained by French arms. Immediately upon the close of our war, Secretary Seward informed France that her troops must be withdrawn. They were withdrawn and the Empire fell. Since that time there has not been the faintest suggestion of an intention upon the part of any European power to interfere in the affairs of any American state for the purpose of overthrowing its government and establishing monarchy in its place. Constitutional government has been established in every European state except Russia and the European political system of which Monroe wrote has ceased to exist. An occasion, therefore, for a second application of this part of the Monroe doctrine has not presented itself.

Briefly stated the Monroe doctrine opposed new European colonies, subjugation of American states by European powers and the system of the Holy Alliance. New colonization has never been attempted, subjugation has been tried once and failed utterly, the system of the Holy Alliance has been dead for half a century. Any statement that goes beyond these three points is unwarranted by the original declaration. Monroe's declaration was a protest against new colonies. It is now applied to colonies that antedate our national existence. Monroe's declaration was a protest against intervention. It is now made the basis for intervention. Monroe's declaration was a protest against absolutism. It is now applied to a government which, despite monarchical forms, is more thoroughly democratic than our own. Such construction is a perversion of the true meaning of the original declaration.

Let us now inquire into the origin of this misconstruction of the Monroe doctrine. With the defeat of John Quincy Adams and the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828, the era of statesman presidents came to an end and an era of military favorites and politicians began. At the same time we abandoned the founders' policy of

peace and friendship with all mankind and assumed an attitude of defiance toward foreign nations. Slavery wanted more territory for its expansion and the South needed more slaves in order to keep abreast of the rapidly growing North. Longing eyes were turned toward Texas and its acquisition became the settled policy of the slave power. Jackson first tried to buy Texas but Mexico refused to sell. "To do so," Santa Anna replied, "would be to sign the death warrant of my country, for the United States would take one province after another until none remained." Jackson then sent Houston to Texas, at that time the territory of a friendly state with which we were at peace, with the understanding that he should colonize it with American citizens, foment revolution and, when a favorable opportunity presented itself, apply for admission to the United States. This conspiracy required time for its development but was carried out according to the program. The revolution came, Texas declared her independence of Mexico and applied for annexation to the United States. A treaty for the purpose failing of ratification in the Senate, President Tyler secured the passage of a joint resolution for the admission of Texas as a State in the Union.

Such was the situation when Polk became President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1845. In his inaugural address the new President said:

"I regard the question of annexation as belonging exclusively to the United States and Texas. Foreign powers do not seem to appreciate the true character of our government. Our union is a confederation of independent states, whose policy is peace with each other and all the world. To enlarge its limits, is to extend the dominion of peace over additional territories and increasing millions."

In his first annual message to Congress, again referring to Texas, he said:

"The United States cannot in silence permit any European interference on the North American continent; and should any such interference be attempted, will be ready to resist it at any and all hazards. . . . The nations of America are equally sovereign and independent with those of Europe. They possess the same rights, independent of all foreign interposition, to make war, to conclude peace and to regulate their internal affairs. The people of the United States cannot, therefore, view with indifference attempts of European powers to interfere with the independent action of nations on this continent. . . . We must ever maintain the

principle that the people of this continent alone have the right to decide their own destiny. Should any portion of them, constituting an independent state, propose to unite themselves with our confederacy, this will be a question for them and us to determine, without any foreign interposition."

This is the new version of Monroe's declaration. Monroe had protested against European interference for the purpose of destroying independent states and Polk extended the protest to any interference whatever.

Within the month the annexation of Texas was completed. But the South was not satisfied. She next coveted the rich soil of California. Again Mexico was asked to sell. Again she refused and Polk precipitated a war to compel her to do so. Mexico was prostrated and compelled to part with California for fifteen million dollars. This was Polk's way of extending the blessings of peace over additional territories and increasing millions.

Before peace with Mexico had been ratified, a peculiar situation presented itself in Yucatan. The white race in that peninsula were engaged in a protracted struggle with the Indians. As the price of assistance, they simultaneously offered the dominion and sovereignty of their country to Great Britain, Spain and the United States. In a special message, advising the occupation of Yucatan, President Polk said:

"We could not consent to a transfer of this 'dominion and sovereignty' to either Spain or Great Britain or any other European power. In the language of President Monroe....'the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power.'The present is deemed a proper occasion to reiterate and reaffirm the principle avowed by Mr. Monroe and to state my cordial concurrence in its wisdom and sound policy."

Here we have the new version of the first part of Monroe's declaration. The protest against new European colonies is construed to mean that no European power shall acquire territory upon this continent in any way whatever.

Polk's two statements were glaringly inconsistent. The first declared the right of the United States to acquire territory by the free gift of an independent state, the second denied the right of Europe to acquire territory in the same way. The first denied to Europe the right of interposition; the second asserted it for the United States. The first asserted that the nations of America were

sovereign and independent and alone had the right to decide their destiny; the second limited that right to a disposition conformable to our interests—in short, they might do as they pleased as long as they pleased to do as we pleased. In what mysterious way the sovereignty of the United States was suddenly extended over the entire continent was not explained. Nevertheless Polk's statement gave the Monroe doctrine its final form: Europe shall not interfere with American states and shall not acquire territory in America in any way. The United States may interfere and may acquire territory whenever her interests demand it. This, I take it, is the form in which the Monroe doctrine rests in the minds of the American people to-day.

Polk's misconstruction of the Monroe doctrine did not pass unchallenged. Mr. Calhoun was at that time the only surviving member of Monroe's cabinet. He was, therefore, of all men living the best acquainted with the circumstances and discussions attending the issue of the declaration. His pro-slavery sympathies and his own part in the annexation of Texas might have inclined him to accept Polk's construction. Instead he declared in the Senate that the case of Yucatan did not come within the Monroe declarations; that they did not furnish the slightest support for it.* It was not the extension of the European political system to this continent, for that system had already ceased to exist. It was not an interposition of an European power to oppress an American government, because that power would come, not to oppress, but to save. Even if England should assert her sovereignty over Yucatan, it would not bring the case within the Monroe doctrine because the tender of that sovereignty had voluntarily been made. It was not colonization. That word had a specific meaning. It meant the establishment by emigrants from a parent colony of a settlement in territory either uninhabited or from which the inhabitants had been partially or wholly expelled. The occupation of Yucatan could not be construed to be colonization by any forced interpretation. Yucatan might become a province or a possession of Great Britain but not a colony. In conclusion he said:

“What the President has asserted in this case is not a principle belonging to these declarations; it is a principle which, in his misconception, he endeavors to engrave upon them but which has an entirely different meaning and tendency....It goes infinitely and dangerously beyond Mr. Monroe's declaration. It puts it in the power of other countries on this continent to make us a party

*Calhoun's “Works,” Vol. 4, pp. 454-66.

to all their wars. . . . If this broad interpretation be given to these declarations. . . . our peace will ever be disturbed, the gates of our Janus will ever stand open, wars will never cease."

Who, then, was the author of this so-called Monroe doctrine? It was Polk, Polk the mendacious, as v. Holst has called him, the man who provoked a war of wanton conquest and based its declaration upon a lie. It is Polk's doctrine and not Monroe's. Not daring to sign his own name, he sought to give it authority by attaching that of one of the founders of the republic. When and why was it proclaimed? It was at the very time we were engaged in the annexation of Texas and the conquest of Mexico, the two acts in our national history of which we have least reason to be proud. Then it was that Polk twisted a declaration intended for the protection of free institutions into an excuse for the extension of human slavery. Its origin and purpose condemn it.

The policy which had succeeded in Texas and Mexico, Polk next applied to Cuba. He first tried to buy Cuba but Spain replied that rather than sell she would see the island sunk in the ocean. Filibustering expeditions next tried to revolutionize Cuba, as Houston had revolutionized Texas, but failed. We next threatened Spain as Slidell had threatened Mexico. In the spirit of the Polk doctrine, our ministers to Great Britain, France and Spain, in the celebrated Ostend Manifesto* declared:

"After we have offered Spain a price for Cuba far beyond its present value and this shall have been refused, it will be time to consider the question 'does Cuba, in the possession of Spain, seriously endanger our internal peace and the existence of our cherished union.' Should this question be answered in the affirmative, then, by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain if we possess the power. . . . We should be recreant to our duty, be unworthy of our gallant fore-fathers, and commit base treason against our posterity should we permit Cuba. . . . seriously to endanger or actually to consume the fair fabric of our Union."

But anti-slavery opinion in the North was setting strongly against the slave power in its foreign as well as its domestic policy. The first republican platform in 1856 resolved that "the highwayman's plea that might makes right, embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction."

*House Ex. Docs., Vol. 10, No. 93; 2d Sess., 33 Cong., pp. 127-36.

The civil war destroyed the slave power and the desire to acquire territory for slave purposes. The doctrine devised by Polk in the interest of slavery seemed to be dead. But now after nearly half a century it is revived in the interest of foreign commerce. It suggests an old epigram:

“ To kill twice dead a rattlesnake,
And off his scaly skin to take,
And through his head to drive a stake,
And every bone within him break,
And of his flesh mincemeat to make,
To burn, to sear, to boil and bake,
Then in a heap the whole to rake,
And over it the besom shake
And sink it fathoms in the lake—
Whence after all, quite wide awake,
Comes back that very same old snake.”

The Polk doctrine is an encroachment upon the rights of foreign states. This fact is so clear that the wonder is that it does not appeal to every one the moment it is stated. The explanation perhaps is that frequent repetition secures its acceptance much as we incline to believe a false report that is often repeated. The first and most fundamental doctrine of international law asserts the sovereignty, independence and equality of states. They are sovereign in the regulation of their internal affairs, independent of interference in their relations with other states and equal in rights. This is precisely the doctrine stated by John Quincy Adams,* when urging the declaration in the cabinet meeting.

“ Considering the South Americans as independent nations,” he said, “ they themselves and no other nations have the *right* to dispose of their condition. *We* have no right to dispose of them, either alone or in conjunction with other nations. Neither have any other nations the right of disposing of them without their consent.”

From equality of rights results a corresponding equality of obligations. The same rights belong to all—the same duties rest upon all—the greatest as well as the smallest, the strongest as well as the weakest. Strength confers no privileges and weakness grants no exemptions. If the weak state injure the strong one, it must make reparation. It is the duty of the strong state to seek it peaceably, it is her right to secure it forcibly if necessary.

In 1854 the people of Greytown, Nicaragua, insulted the American minister and destroyed American property. The United States sent a war-ship there and, failing to secure an indemnity, bom-

“ Memoirs,” Vol. 6, p. 168.

barded the town. Lord Palmerston, at that time prime minister of England, in referring to the incident in Parliament, said:

"We may think that the attack was not justified by the cause which was assigned. But we have no right to judge the motives which actuated other states in vindicating wrongs which they supposed they had sustained."*

In 1855 the United States became involved in a controversy with Paraguay, in which justice appears to have been largely upon the side of the weaker state. Reparation was demanded and refused. Thereupon President Buchanan sent a fleet of nineteen vessels, which forced an apology and the payment of an indemnity. In 1890 we threatened Venezuela with force in order to collect a private claim and in 1892 we threatened Chili with war to secure an apology for an injury. No European power interfered at any time to protect the weaker state.

In 1894 the authorities at Bluefields, Nicaragua, insulted the British consnl there and a mob destroyed the consulate. Great Britain demanded an indemnity of the Nicaraguan government and proposed, in default of payment, to take possession of the port of Corinto and collect the duties there until the amount claimed was realized. Immediately the American press raised the cry of "Monroe Doctrine" and in effect denied the right of Great Britain to resort to the same measures of redress in her intercourse with independent states which we had many times employed in similar cases. We might have said as Lord Palmerston did of the Greytown bombardment that we did not think the punishment was justified by the cause assigned but we were bound to add as he did, that "we had no right to jndge the motives which actuated other states in vindicating wrongs which they supposed they had sustained." To deny to foreign nations the same modes of redress that we employ ourselves is an encroachment upon their sovereignty, a violation of their independence and a denial of their equality.

In 1861 the United States was confronted with the most stupendous insurrection ever organized. The rebellion began in South Carolina in December of 1860. By the 8th of February, 1861, seven states had seceded and organized an independent government as complete in all respects as was the Union government. They were subsequently joined by four more states making eleven in all, exactly one-third of the total number at that time and including nearly a third of the area and population of the Union. For five months after the beginning of this rebellion no effort was made to

*Wharton's "Digest," Vol. 2, p. 596

check or suppress it. It was for a time even doubtful whether such an attempt would be made at all. The first conflict of arms took place in April. The President of the United States immediately called for seventy-five thousand volunteers and declared a blockade of the seceded states. A war was immediately prepared, the most regularly equipped, the most regularly conducted and the greatest of modern times. In May and June European states issued proclamations of neutrality, recognizing the fact of war and the belligerency of the parties. We considered these proclamations an unjustifiable interference in our internal affairs and an evidence of great unfriendliness and made them for years the subject of a claim for damages against a foreign state.

In the neighboring colony of a friendly state there has raged for some time an irregular guerilla war. The government of the insurgents does not approach in completeness the government of the Confederate states. It has not a tenth part of the equipment, of the regularity, or of the prospect of success that the Confederates had. And yet it is seriously proposed that we recognize these insurgents as belligerents and advise Spain to grant them independence, on the ground that she can never conquer them. In what temper would the Union government have received such advice in 1861? Interference in the affairs of foreign states, which we resent when applied to ourselves, is an encroachment upon their sovereignty, a violation of their independence and a denial of their equality.

According to well settled rules of international law, interference in the affairs of independent states is justified in only two cases: first, when demanded by self preservation and second, when necessary to prevent the commission by a government upon its subjects of crimes repugnant to humanity. The protest of President Monroe came well within the first case. It is difficult for us now to realize the comparative weakness of the United States in 1823. We had at that time a population of less than ten million people sparsely settled over a wide area. Within ten years we had come out of a war with a single European power badly beaten and glad to make peace without mention of the causes of the contest. The establishment by powerful European states of new colonies upon our borders would have been a menace to our peace and safety. The subjugation of South American states by an European alliance acting in the interest of Spain would in principle have justified the conquest of the United States by a similar alliance acting in the interest of Great Britain. The circumstances justified the protest.

Very different are the recent cases. In no one of them is there any menace to our national existence. We have no right of interference, upon the same principle of law that an individual has no standing in a controversy in which his rights are not involved. The fact that states are located in the Western hemisphere gives us no protectorate over them. Much of Europe is actually nearer to us than many South American states and all of Europe is more easily accessible than any of them. International law knows no North, no South, no East, no West. The rights and duties of states are the same everywhere. The assertion by the President that an extension of the boundary of British Guiana is dangerous to our peace and safety is an absolute absurdity. And yet, so far as I am informed, only three newspapers in the United States had the courage to say so. The only other protest came from a few college professors, who in the popular view, by reason of the special study of particular questions, become thereby incapacitated for forming intelligent opinions respecting them. These few protests were met by crushing charges: their authors were dudes and Anglomaniacs and turned up their trousers when it rained in London. And now the government has come to the college professors because no one else can read the documents upon which rests the settlement of the questions involved. Two members of the Venezuelan commission are college presidents and former professors of history and the actual study of maps and manuscripts is being carried on by Mr. Winsor, the librarian of Harvard, Professor Burr of Cornell and Professor Jameson of Brown University. I am bound to say that the moderation of Great Britain in view of our repeated interference in her affairs is truly remarkable. I do not believe that the American people would for a moment brook a similar interference by any European state in matters that concern ourselves exclusively.

The case of Cuba affects us more nearly. We cannot but sympathize with the insurgents, struggling for liberty and independence, but we have no interest that justifies interference. The interest of Great Britain in our civil war was far greater, for the blockade closed her factories and caused widespread distress and actual starvation. It is reported that the contest in Cuba is waged with great cruelty, with the use of poisonous and explosive bullets, with summary trials and barbarous executions, storming of hospitals and massacre of non-combatants, but the evidence does not show that the cruelty is much greater on one side than on the other. "As for a state's having the vocation to go forth like Hercules,"

says President Woolsey,* "beating down wickedness, all over the world, it is enough to say that such a principle, if carried out, would destroy the independence of states, justify nations in taking sides in regard to all national acts and lead to universal war."

A doctrine which claims a right to interfere in controversies between other states or in their internal affairs, when our national existence is in no way imperiled or even remotely involved, is a violation of international law and an encroachment upon the rights of foreign nations.

The Polk doctrine is a menace to our peace and safety. A state that interferes in matters that do not concern her does so at her peril. Especially dangerous are alliances with states so unstable and changeable as those of Central and South America. Their internal affairs are in a state of confusion. Under the forms of republican institutions their governments are in fact a succession of military dictatorships—despotisms tempered by revolution. Within a period of forty years Mexico had nearly forty revolutions and more than seventy presidents. The history of the other states is very similar. So precarious are the lives of their statesmen that a right of asylum in foreign legations is admitted in all of them upon the ground that otherwise experienced men could not be induced to engage in affairs of government.† They are continually involved in wars with each other. Their wholesale repudiation of their debts continually embroils them with Europe. The government of to-day may be overthrown to-morrow. They ask our assistance only when involved in controversies with other states. At other times they reject our advice and repel our advances. Such protection is a thankless and fruitless task. Connection with them may at any time render us responsible for acts that we cannot control. Connection with one of them recently threatened a war in which we had no interest involved or principle at stake, a war with a state to which we are bound by ties of common blood, common language, common literature and common history, a war that would have caused incalculable loss and misery, a war that would have arrested the progress of the world for a decade and disgraced the closing years of the century. Let us take warning from experience and renounce a policy fraught with so much danger to our peace and safety.

The so-called Monroe doctrine is, therefore, contrary to the teaching of the founders of the republic, a perversion of the true

*"International Law," 6th ed., p. 19.

+Wharton's "Digest," Vol. I, p. 693.

meaning of the original declaration, an encroachment upon the rights of foreign nations and a menace to the peace and safety of our own, and it is the duty of the scholar to impress these facts upon the people through the press, in the pulpit and on the platform.

I come now to the second danger that threatens our national peace—the existence of a rising war spirit among the people. I do not by any means believe that such a spirit has become general but it has infected considerable numbers and unless checked may at any time get the upper hand. I attribute this spirit in large part to the influence of the younger men who are rapidly gaining control of public and private affairs. The older men have retained control longer than usual by reason of the prominence and claims that service in the civil war gave them. They are now passing rapidly away and their places are being filled by the generation that has grown to manhood since the war. This change is accompanied by a rise of war spirit, much as the same spirit arose during the first half of the century at the passing of the men of revolutionary times.

One cause of this spirit is to be found in a desire to extend our territory. In Europe in recent times there has been a revival of activity in colonization, indicated by the occupation of the minor islands of the Pacific and the conquests of England and Germany, France and Italy in various parts of Africa. The principal motive of this movement has been a desire to find an outlet for surplus population without incurring the loss that emigration of that surplus to the United States involves. The American people have caught the infection without having the same reason for it. The result is a revival of the doctrine that it is the manifest destiny of the United States to acquire control of the whole continent. This doctrine is illustrated by an anecdote told of a dinner given by the Americans residing in Paris during the civil war. The first speaker proposed the toast: "The United States, bounded on the North by British America, on the South by the Gulf of Mexico, on the East by the Atlantic and on the West by the Pacific Ocean." "But," said the second speaker, "this is far too limited a view of the subject. Why not look to the great and glorious future which the manifest destiny of our race prescribes for us? Here's to the United States, bounded on the North by the North Pole and on the South by the South Pole, on the East by the rising and on the West by the setting sun." "If we are going," said the third speaker, "to leave the present and take our manifest destiny into

account, why restrict ourselves within the narrow limits that have just been assigned? I give you the United States, bounded on the North by the Aurora Borealis, on the South by the precession of the equinoxes, on the East by primeval chaos and on the West by the Day of Judgment."

The revival of this spirit is indicated by the frequent recurrence of articles in the magazines advocating the annexation of Canada, by a very general desire not long since for the acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands, by a strong feeling in some quarters at the present time for the occupation of Cuba and by the demand sometimes heard that we make the Isthmus canal our southern boundary. Such exuberance and enthusiasm are natural to youth. The fact seems scarcely to be considered that nearly every one of these measures involves war. I do not mean to disparage the importance of our vast extent of territory and of our boundless resources, a just source of pride to every patriotic American. The annexation of both Texas and California has been productive of incalculable good to us and to the territory involved but that does not justify the mode and motive of their acquisition. We ought not to acquire more territory by war and conquest. We ought not to annex islands so far removed from our present boundaries that a great and expensive navy would be necessary for their defense, costing more than the value of their total product. And we ought not to acquire territory of which the population is unfit to constitute a state in the Union. Quality is more important than quantity; domestic peace more valuable than foreign commerce.

A second cause of the war spirit is to be found in the existence of deep seated prejudices against particular nations, prejudices unreasoning and unreasonable. The strongest of these prejudices is directed against England. This is in part a survival of the passions of the revolution. Aversion to England and partiality to France were potent factors in our domestic polities from the revolution to the war of 1812. So strong indeed was their influence that a foreign observer was led to remark that "he found in the United States, many French and a few English but no Americans." Rightly understood the revolution furnished little reason either for hatred of England or gratitude to France. At least after the lapse of a century and especially as we were victorious, we can afford to be magnanimous. The English do not cherish the same resentment against us. An Englishman once said to me: "We don't bear you any grudge, you know, for beating us in the revolution. We are proud of you. It is just what we would have done in your place."

And I believe that this remark is characteristic of the feeling of the English people. Prejudice against England was revived by the events of our civil war. There was in truth far greater reason for hatred of France, whose government on the one hand continually urged Great Britain to interference and to a joint recognition of Southern independence and on the other tried to turn our distracted condition to her own advantage by establishing an empire in Mexico. The existence of what is called the Irish vote tends to perpetuate this prejudice and enables politicians to make capital by trading upon the passions of the people. Here again we cannot do better than turn to the advice of Washington's farewell address:

"Nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded and that in place of them, just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated....Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur....Hence frequent collisions and obstinate, envenomed and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels the government to war contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject. At other times, it makes the animosity of the people subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes even the liberty of nations, has been the victim."

A third cause of the war spirit may be found in an extreme sensitiveness and a disposition to resent anything that looks like injury before the actual facts are known. The conduct of foreign relations is undoubtedly a weak point in republican institutions. Formerly they were considered the exclusive affair of government, diplomatic correspondence was secret and time was allowed for explanation or apology before definite action was threatened or taken. Now all public questions are discussed in the forum of the people and upon the first rumor of insult or injustice there arises a demand for instant apology and a threat of war. Governments like individuals dislike the appearance of yielding to pressure and a premature resort to it diminishes the chances of accommodation. The danger is that popular excitement may precipitate an unnec-

essary conflict. Fortunately the government has proved more moderate than the people and the danger so far has been avoided.

Nations have the rights of individuals and the same duties rest upon them—among others the duty of moderation.

“It not infrequently happens,” says General Halleck,* “that what is, at first, looked upon as an injury or an insult is found, upon more deliberate examination, to be a mistake rather than an act of malice or one designed to give offense. Moreover the injury may result from the acts of inferior persons, which may not receive the approbation of their own governments. A little moderation and delay, in such cases, may bring to the offended party a just satisfaction whereas rash and precipitate measures may often lead to the shedding of innocent blood.”

I would not abate one jot or tittle of our just rights but I would counsel moderation, a postponement of judgment until all the circumstances are known, an avoidance of irritating and insulting charges, a resort to peaceful measures of redress and above all no talk of war until it shall appear that war is necessary to save national honor. “He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city.”

The last and most important cause of the war spirit is to be found in the fact that the new generation have never known the horrors of war and are ignorant of its true character.

“Art and literature,” says a recent writer on international law,† “combine to help on the work of slaughter. Poets and painters celebrate the ‘pomp and circumstance of glorious war’ till people come seriously to regard it as a thing of lands and banners, of glittering uniforms and burnished steel, of deeds of heroic daring and examples of lofty self-sacrifice. They forget the stern realities of cold and hunger, wounds and death, the shattered limbs, the fever thirst, the fiendish passions of cruelty and lust. They forget the demoralization it causes among both victors and vanquished and the widespread ruin that follows in its train. In the twenty-five years between 1855 and 1880 over two million men died in wars between civilized powers.”

In our own civil war, upon the Union side alone, out of three hundred and fifty thousand dead, only sixty-seven thousand were killed in battle. Two hundred thousand died of disease, forty-three thousand died of wounds and forty thousand from accident, murder, execution, starvation or abuse. Thirty thousand one hun-

*“International Law,” 3d ed., Vol. I, p. 463.

†T. J. Lawrence, “Essays on Modern International Law,” 2d ed., pp. 242-4.

dred and fifty-six Union soldiers died in Southern prisons and thirty thousand one hundred and fifty-two Confederate soldiers died in Northern prisons, within four of the same number on both sides.

"Who can calculate," says the same writer, "the awful mass of human misery that these figures represent? . . . Comparatively few of those that perish die upon the battle field. Thousands succumb from sheer exhaustion, having endured for weeks, perhaps months, the slow agony of failing strength, under the influence of privation and over-exertion. Thousands die of disease, many of them for want of the commonest comforts of the sick. Starvation demands one host of victims, fever another, neglected wounds a third. Vice of all kinds preys upon the soldiery and exacts its terrible toll of moral and physical ruin. Even well appointed and victorious armies melt away under the influence of sickness and fatigue unless constantly reinforced. What then must be the case with a broken or retreating army, an army separated from its supplies or cooped up in a beleaguered fortress? Let the three hundred thousand French soldiers, whose bones strewed the plains of Russia from Moscow to the Niemen provide the answer. Read in the history of a more recent period how a British army was destroyed by cold and privation in the trenches before Sebastopol, while transports rocked idly in the harbor of Balaclava, almost within sight of the starved men dying like flies for want of the comforts they contained. Consult English papers for the condition of the hospitals at Plevna, when the Russians entered the town and found the wounded with broken and unset limbs twisted out of all human recognition. In records such as these you will read the true history of war. No one acquainted with them can deny that much remains to be done to correct popular ideas and sentiments on the subject. There must be a great change in the ordinary modes of thinking and speaking of war before current opinion in regard to it conforms to the standard of Christianity."

It is not death alone that makes war terrible. Worse than dead are the wrecks of men, maimed in body and shattered in mind, who live afterward, a curse to themselves and a burden to their friends. No account has yet been taken of the suffering at home. Think of the three hundred and fifty thousand dead in our last war on the Northern side alone and then think of the thousands of mothers left childless, the thousands of wives left husbandless, the thousands of children left fatherless, the heart-burnings and heart-breakings it caused, and *then* talk lightly and wantonly of war.

“The real sorrows of war,” says George Cary Eggleston,* in speaking of the South, “fall most heavily upon the women. They may not bear arms. They may not even share the triumphs which compensate their brothers for toil and suffering and danger. They must sit still and endure. The poverty which war brings to them wears no cheerful face but sits down with them to empty tables and pinches them sorely in solitude. After the victory the men who have won it throw up their hats in glad huzza, while their wives and daughters await in sorest agony of suspense the news which may bring hopeless desolation to their hearts.”

I have heard men say that war would be a good thing, it would raise prices and make trade brisk. Truly when such remarks can be made, much remains to be done to correct popular ideas and sentiments upon the subject of war. The duty to do this rests upon those who know and feel the evil. It rests upon all alike, teachers in the schools and professors in the colleges, writers for the press and preachers in the churches, men of business on the street and statesmen in the halls of legislation. Lord Derby has said: “The greatest of England’s interests is peace.” Let us echo the sentiment: The greatest American interest is peace.

I come now to the third danger that threatens our national peace —enormous expenditure for war purposes. This expenditure, as Dunning said of the influence of the crown, “has increased, is increasing and ought to be diminished.” The possession of great force is a standing temptation to use it.

It has been common for great men to give accounts of their early intellectual development and of books that have helped them. I see no reason why it may not also be permitted to small men to acknowledge their indebtedness to the influences that have moulded their opinions. In the library of the school where I received my training preparatory for college, there was a copy of the “Speeches and Addresses of Charles Sumner,” which I often used to read when supposed by my instructors to be studying Latin or Algebra. The first speech in that collection made a powerful impression upon my mind. It was entitled “The True Grandeur of Nations,” and defended the proposition that in our age there can be no peace that is not honorable, and no war that is not dishonorable. The oration was delivered on the fourth of July, 1845, before the city corporation of Boston. Mr. Sumner was himself a notable example of the scholar in politics—not always right, to be sure, but always honest and honorable. This speech was his first public appearance, the beginning of his public

*“A Rebel’s Recollections,” 3d ed., p. 58.

career. I desire to quote the passage,⁴ which, according to the testimony of those present, made the strongest impression upon his hearers:

"Within cannon range of this city stands an institution of learning which was one of the earliest cares of our forefathers. Favored child in an age of trial and struggle—carefully nursed through a period of hardship and anxiety—sustained from its first foundation by the paternal arm of the commonwealth, by a constant succession of munificent bequests and by the prayers of good men—the University of Cambridge now invites our homage as the most ancient, most interesting and most important seat of learning in the land. . . . It appears from the last *Report of the Treasurer*, that the whole available property of the University, the various accumulations of more than two centuries of generosity, amounts to \$703,000."

"Change the scene and cast your eyes upon another object. There now swings idly at her moorings in this harbor a ship of the line, the Ohio, carrying ninety guns, finished as late as 1836 at an expense of \$835,000—more than \$130,000 beyond all the available wealth of the richest and most ancient seat of learning in the land. Choose ye, my fellow citizens of a Christian state, between the two caskets, - that wherein is the loveliness of truth, or that which contains the carrion death."

"Pursue the comparison still further. The expenditure of the University during the last year amounted to \$48,000. The cost of the Ohio for one year of service, in salaries, wages and provisions is \$220,000, being \$172,000 above the annual expenses of the University and more than four times as much as those expenditures. In other words, for the annual sum lavished upon a single ship of the line, four institutions like Harvard University might be supported."

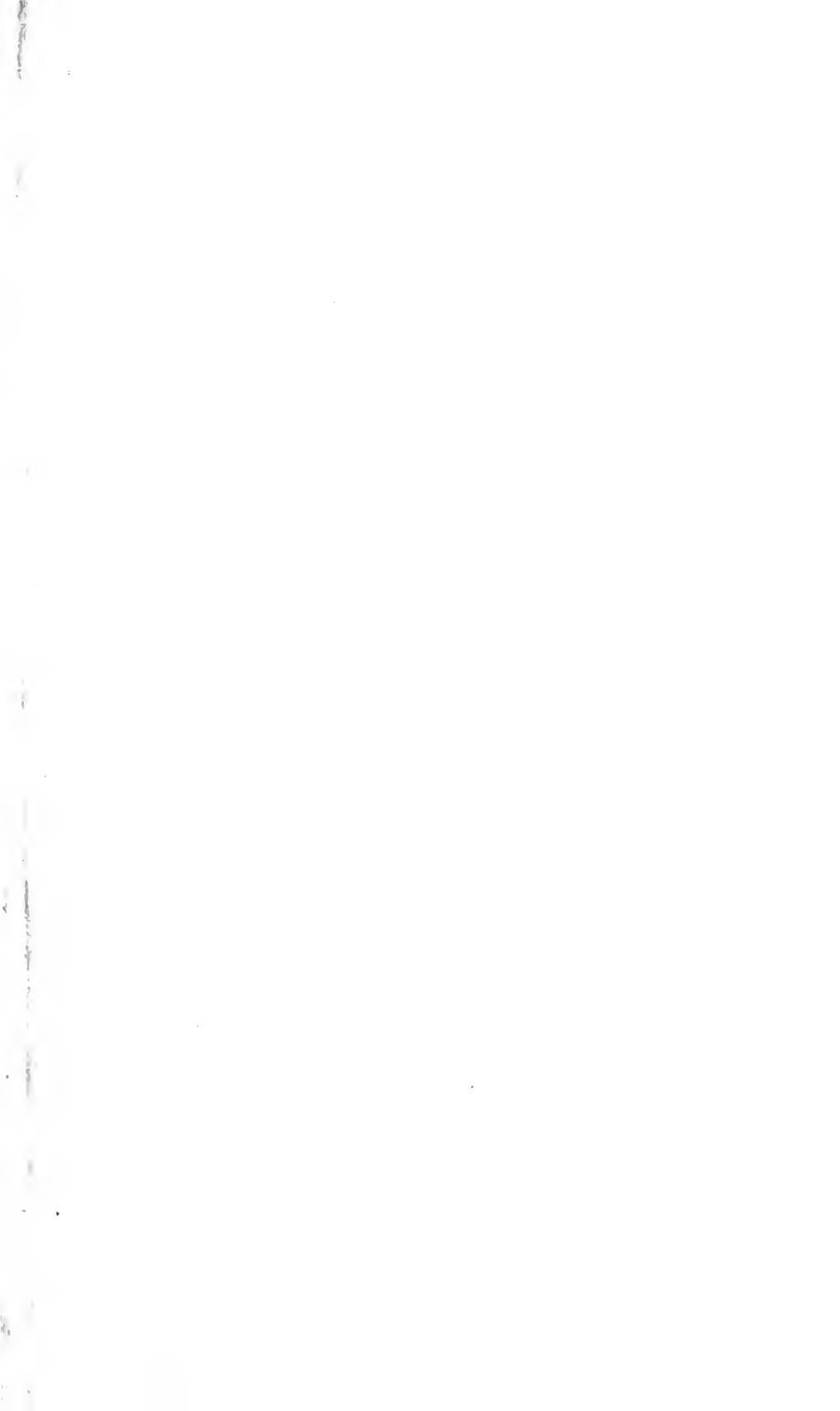
A similar comparison between the cost of a modern warship and a modern University would be interesting, were the material at hand for making it. The average cost in recent years of a large man-of-war, without armament, has been over three million dollars. There have recently been added to our navy six battle ships—the Indiana, the Iowa, the Maine, the Massachusetts, the Oregon and the Texas, and two armored cruisers—the Brooklyn and the New York. Their total cost, making allowance for armament, is twenty-five million dollars. This amount exceeds by ten million dollars the total income of the four hundred and seventy-six colleges and universities in the United States to-day and at the present rate would defray the current

⁴Sumner's "Works," Vol. I, pp. 80-2.

expenses of the University of Kansas for a period of two hundred and fifty years. And yet this twenty-five million is but a fraction of the total expenditure for war purposes which during the last five years has amounted to four hundred and twelve millions,* an average of over eighty-two millions a year—and the present Congress has surpassed all its predecessors in extravagance and voted the largest appropriations ever made and ordered the largest number of battle ships ever provided for at a single time—and all this in a period of peace abroad and commercial depression at home, with an enormous deficit in the national treasury and with widespread distress every winter in all our large cities, that has required for its relief an organization of charities hitherto unknown. Is it not time to call a halt in this enormous waste of wealth? Is there not some missionary work for educated men and women to do here at home in the way of arousing and civilizing public opinion upon this subject? “Let us,” says General Walker.† “frown indignantly upon every proposed measure, upon every representative vote, upon every word of every man, whether in public or private speech, which assumes or gives countenance to the assumption that this people are to come under the curse of the war system or which threatens our friendly relations with any power on earth. Sixty-five millions, transcending in all the elements of industrial, of financial and, if you please, of military strength, the combined resources of any two of the greatest nations of the world, who shall molest us or make us afraid, who shall be so insane as to wantonly attack the greatest power on earth? Why then should we enter upon that career of competitive armament into which mutual jealousies and mutual fears have driven the nations of Europe—a career which once entered upon, has no logical stopping place short of complete exhaustion, impoverishment and financial bankruptcy and which in its turn finds that it has earned nothing but to be the object of universal dread and universal detestation? Let it then be our pride as it is our privilege to remain the great unarmed nation, as little fearing harm from any as desiring to wrong any. Let us follow the paths of peaceful, happy industry, developing the resources with which nature has so bounteously endowed us, reserving our giant strength for those competitions whose results are mutual benefits, and bestowing upon schools and colleges, libraries and museums, public parks and institutions of beneficence that wealth which others waste on frontier fortresses and floating castles.”

*“Statistical Abstract of the United States,” No. 18, p. 22.

†“The Growth of the Nation,” an Address at Brown University, June 18th, 1889, printed in the Providence “Journal.”



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